

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07  
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-15 IO-14 OIC-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 CU-06  
HA-05 /110 W  
-----043541 030655Z /12

R 021946Z DEC 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0939  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY OSLO  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK  
USMISSION USNATO

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E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: CSCE, UK  
SUBJECT: CSCE: INTERVIEW WITH FOREIGN SECRETARY DAVID  
OWEN

1. SUMMARY: QUOTED BELOW IS FULL TEXT OF REMARKS BY  
DAVID OWEN ON BBC DECEMBER 1 CONCERNING DETENTE, HUMAN  
RIGHTS, AND BELGRADE REVIEW CONFERENCE. OWEN REITERATED  
IMPORTANCE TO HMG OF HUMAN RIGHTS AS ONE ELEMENT OF  
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EFFORT TO REDUCE EAST WEST TENSIONS AND STRESSED  
ESPOUSAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT ANTI-SOVIET. SOVIETS  
MUST UNDERSTAND THAT DETENTE IS NOT A "REMOTE PRO-  
CEDURAL NEGOTIATION AMONG DIPLOMATS" BUT INVOLVES SUCH  
CENTRAL ELEMENTS AS "HOW PEOPLE LIVE THEIR LIVES."  
SOVIETS ARE WELL AWARE OF UK VIEWS ON INDIVIDUAL CASES,  
BUT AS A GOVERNMENT UK CANNOT CHAMPION THEM. BELGRADE

IS IMPORTANT BUT SO FAR A "PROPER DIALOGUE" HAS NOT TAKEN PLACE. HE DOWNPLAYS NEED FOR FINAL DOCUMENT THAT IS MORE THAN STATEMENT OF FACTS AND SUGGESTS THAT "SPATE OF NEW MEASURES" IS NOT NECESSARY. HE SURFACES HIS VIEW THAT TO AVOID BUREAUCRATIZATION OF THE FOLLOW-UP PROCESS, THERE SHOULD BE A FURTHER MEETING IN 1980 AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL TO PROVIDE PROPER POLITICAL INPUT. END SUMMARY.

2. FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN WAS INTERVIEWED ON BBC RADIO DECEMBER 1 BY BRIAN BEEDHAM, OF LONDON ECONOMIST. INTERVIEW COVERED SEVERAL CURRENT TOPICS INCLUDING DETENTE AND CSCE. AFTER BEEDHAM SUMMARIZED DEVELOPMENTS SINCE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, HE ASKS OWEN WHETHER WEST CAN SIGN AGREEMENT WITH RUSSIANS AT BELGRADE UNTIL ORLOV AND HIS COLLEAGUES ARE FREED. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF OWEN REPLY AND ENSUING COLLOQUY.

3. BEGIN OWEN TEXT. WE DO NOT REALLY SIGN AN AGREEMENT AT BELGRADE, BELGRADE IS A FOLLOW UP CONFERENCE. NOW I DO NOT WISH TO CLAIM MORE FOR BELGRADE THAN IS ACTUALLY ACHIEVED AND IT WILL NOT BE A SADNESS OR A DEFEAT FOR THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IF THE EVENTUAL COMMUNIQUE IS NO MORE THAN A FACTUAL STATEMENT OF WHAT HAPPENED AND IT IS NOT NECESSARY, FOR INSTANCE, TO HAVE A WHOLE SPATE OF NEW MEASURES. IT IS A FOLLOW UP TO THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT  
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AND THAT MEANT THAT WHEN WE SIGNED THAT ACT NONE OF US BELIEVED THAT IT WAS GOING TO MAKE RAPID PROGRESS. THE GREAT DANGER IS OF OVER SELLING THESE TREATIES THINKING THAT SUDDENLY THE WORLD IS GOING TO BE DIFFERENT. IT IS A SLOW EVOLUTIONARY STEP. THE DANGER WILL BE IF WE CLAIM MORE FOR BELGRADE THAN WE HAVE ACHIEVED. ANOTHER OF THE FEARS THAT WE HAVE IS THAT WE WILL END UP WITH AN OVERALL COMMUNIQUE AND A FEW WEEKS LATER WE WILL FIND A WHOLE SERIES OF TRIALS WHICH IN TERMS OF OUR OWN PUBLIC OPINION WILL PUT IN QUESTION THE WHOLE PROCESS OF BELGRADE AND DETENTE. NOW I HAD TO CONVINCE THE SOVIET UNION THAT OUR ESPOUSAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS NOT SOMETHING WHICH IS ANTI THE SOVIET UNION, THAT IT IS A LEGITIMATE PART OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE AND WE HAVE TRIED TO MAKE THEM REALIZE THAT WE ARE NOT ACTING AS AGENTS PROVOCATEURS TRYING TO UNDERMINE THEIR SOCIETY, WE ARE ESPOUSING HUMAN RIGHTS AS ONE OF THE ELEMENTS ALONG WITH DISARMAMENT, AND CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES TO REDUCE THE RISK OF EITHER CONVENTIONAL OR NUCLEAR WAR AND THAT IT IS NOT SOMETHING WHICH IS PARTICULARLY GEARED TO THEM, WE ARE ACTIVE IN HUMAN RIGHTS WHETHER IT IS IN CHILE, OR UGANDA, OR SOUTH AFRICA.

4. (BEEDHAM). CAN WE CLAIM THAT WE HAVE MADE OUR POINT  
WITH THE SOVIET UNION IF URI ORLOV STAYS IN JAIL?  
(OWEN). WELL I THINK IT IS DANGEROUS TO GET INTO A  
SITUATION OF JUDGING SUCH A MASSIVE GLOBAL ISSUE AS  
DETENTE ON INDIVIDUAL CASES. EQUALLY WELL I THINK IT IS  
A MISTAKE FOR THE RUSSIANS TO THINK THAT THEY CAN JUST

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IGNORE PUBLIC OPINION AND PUBLIC FEELING TO INDIVIDUAL  
CASES. SCHARANSKY, ORLOV, ALL THESE CASES AROUSE IN THE  
PUBLIC MIND VERY CONSIDERABLE FEELING AND I HAVE MADE  
CLEAR TO THE SOVIET UNION THAT IN A DEMOCRACY WE CANNOT

DISSOCIATE OURSELVES FROM PUBLIC OPINION. THAT DETENTE IS NOT JUST A REMOTE PROCEDURAL NEGOTIATION BETWEEN DIPLOMAT IN BELGRADE ABOUT DISARMAMENT, IT IS ABOUT SUCH CENTRAL UNCLASSIFIED

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ELEMENTS AS TO THE WAY PEOPLE LIVE THEIR LIVES. I RECOGNIZE THAT AS A GOVERNMENT WE CANNOT CHAMPION INDIVIDUAL CASES. THIS IS VERY DIFFICULT FOR US TO DO, AT LEAST PUBLICLY, BUT I DO BRING TO THEIR ATTENTION PRIVATELY ISSUES BUT ALSO PUBLICLY TELL THEM THAT THEY MUST TAKE ACCOUNT OF OUR PUBLIC OPINION. THAT IS PART OF THE PROCESS OF DETENTE. THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION IN BELGRADE AND THE RUSSIAN LEADERSHIP IN MOSCOW IS UNDER NO ILLUSION ABOUT OUR VIEWS ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND ON THE INDIVIDUAL CASES THAT YOU MENTION.

5. (BEEDHAM). WELL, WHEN BELGRADE COMES TO WIND UP IN JANUARY OR FEBRUARY, CAN WE WIND IT UP IF THESE PEOPLE ARE STILL IN JAIL?

(OWEN). I THINK THAT IS SOMETHING WE WILL HAVE TO DECIDE AT THE TIME AND I CERTAINLY THINK THAT WHETHER OR NOT WE WIND IT UP I THINK IT IS BOUND TO HAVE AN EFFECT ON HOW FAR YOU CAN SIGN A COMMUNIQUE WHICH, IF YOU LIKE, IS AN EXPRESSION OF TRUST FOR THE FUTURE, BUT IN ORDER TO MAKE A COMMITMENT FOR THE FUTURE THAT WON'T MAKE ONE LOOK JUST TOTALLY FOOLISH ONE WILL HAVE TO HAVE SOME FEELING THAT THE SPIRIT OF IT IS GOING TO BE FULFILLED. THIS IS A DELICATE AND DIFFICULT QUESTION BUT I BELIEVE THAT BELGRADE IS IMPORTANT. THE DIALOGUE IS JUST STARTING. IT HAS BEEN MAINLY AT BELGRADE, EACH SIDE STATING ITS VIEWS, THERE HAS BEEN A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF GIVE AND TAKE IN ARGUMENT BUT PRETTY LIMITED, WHICH HAS NOT BEEN WHAT I WOULD CALL A PROPER DIALOGUE YET, BUT WE NEED TO MEET AGAIN. WE NEED A FOLLOW UP MEETING AND IN MY JUDGEMENT IN 1980 WE NEED TO MEET AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL AND HAVE A POLITICAL INPUT. THE DANGER IS AT BELGRADE AND FOLLOW UP TO HELSINKI BECOMING BUREAUCRATIZED AND BE TAKEN OUT OF THE POLITICAL ARENA. THESE ISSUES ARE VERY UNCLASSIFIED

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POLITICAL. END TEXT.

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
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